1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

991 we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

764 The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas*, [171] in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people 766 are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which 775 are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also 825 reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune 761 are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same 759 as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part 771 of his duties to detect witches.

443 As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight 554 or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. [363] A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

301 It would appear that the military organization, the aversion 334 to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging 347 in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially 191 developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape 342 of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the [171] Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement 151 are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, 252 extraction of the middle tooth of the lower jaw, resting in 303 a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living 515 animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction. 234

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler 237 and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want 190 of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to 193 say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

* It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Fiche and Lake districts. The Council provided over by Fiches also possesses a certain measure of authority, but these two powers the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown to their views is the direct outcome of the personalities of the individual presidents and not to the system which they represent.

The population of the Rural Reserve numbers not much more than 40,000 of whom the great majority are Rural, but which also includes a considerable number of poor or half-caste Africans. The indigent Area set by the Rural Commission proves considerable attraction for the neighbouring Africans, who bring their families and settle under the ownership of prosperous agriculturists and command labour either in their reserves or on adjacent lands. For many years, the Africans and Rural have engaged in trade, and these trade links continue, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. The widely their settlement of the idle life, segregation of individuals from Africans in Rural possess have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Rural Reserve therefore contains many mixed units, mostly among the Africans known as the Kapanga and D'Ondo Labarak.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the East African Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural industries and industry and to discourage landowning towards pastoralism. The policy has been pursued with success among the Kavirondo, Kikuyu and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and has been introduced with less success into the districts of such pastoral tribes as the Rural and Lumbwa, but with the Rural it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Rural have shown no inclination to till the soil, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared on the instigation of Rural owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Kikuyu tribe.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as porters for the Uganda Concessions, for the military situation in March and April, 1917, led to the organization of a number of Kikuyu from their own country into the Rural Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to escaping enrolment, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Somalis and Rural. Colonel Kenworthy, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasion of their duties was highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Somalis, any system which prevented of Kikuyu working for Rural was open to the gravest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The granting of such Kikuyu emigration to the Rural Reserve was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1917, and was referred to the Chairman of the Native Committee appointed to consider the "Resident Natives Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Kikuyu natives, the policy has been adopted by the Rural Reserve of preventing all Kikuyu living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence to exceptional rights to have become Rural, and of returning them to their own country. This policy applies to the cases of all these Kikuyu who have joined the Rural since the move from Lukenya. Efforts have also been made to register all Kikuyu who may be considered to have become Rural.

An important step in the revision of the system of Rural administration was undertaken early in 1918, when the various matters connected with the personality of the leader, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Rural should be abolished.

At the time of Lenana's death, in 1911, Sagal was still a boy, and control over the Rural was exercised for the two regents, Kgumba and Lenghibe. When Sagal came of age and succeeded the duties assigned to him in the capacity of Paramount Chief, he was given an appointed chief but proved himself to be totally unsuitable. His habits, drunken and moral outrages, he was irresponsible and unreasonable; he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

6:Thomson J.-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Wa-Kwafi

between the married and the unmarried people, very little work being expected of the latter, and the sweetheart system being preserved. They all, however, occupy the same village, and of course the young men cannot afford to live on meat, though they always come in for the lion's share when any of it is going. When parties go off on war-raids, they also combine to eat a bullock by way of getting up their courage.

They lead upon the whole a very miserable life, ever threatened with destruction by the Masai, who have swept off several villages and all their cattle. The soil being the very richest loam, brought down from the mountains and spread over a comparatively level plain to the south of the lake, it is capable of producing anything; only the extreme dryness of the air and the very small annual rainfall, confined to a couple of months, keeps it sterile and barren. To ameliorate this unhappy condition of things the Wa-kwafi have developed a wonderfully ingenious system of irrigation by artificial canals of (for them) great magnitude. They construct dams across the deep channel of the Guaso Ngiroh and thus raise the level of the water to that of the plain, and then, by an intricate network of channels, they spread the precious fluid over a large area, and raise their millet and mokoma. These products form almost their sole food, eked out by what they are able to kill in the chase and by fish from the river, though when meat is scarce they are not indisposed even of rats. Of these there were simply myriads. They swarmed everywhere, and nothing was too sacred for them. Need it be wondered if "oft in the stilly night" were heard imprecations loud and deep upon the wretched pests when I have been wakened up by my nose being bitten or the sanctity of my toe invaded. My books were devoured, and even the bullets in my cartridges were not too indigestible. Everything, indeed, had to be kept under iron or hung up under shots as represented on page 313.

As in the case of the Wa-taveta, the Wa-ejumpe are singularly honest and reliable, so much so that valuable goods and equally valuable food are left in their charge with the utmost confidence, and I have heard of no case of this being violated. To me, one of the most remarkable features in the character of the young women and girls was their absolute unconsciousness of fear in my presence, and the complete confidence they seemed to have in me. They indeed look

614 The name of the main group 'Loodo mongi is very liable to be confused with that of the sub-clan 'Loodo 'Kishu because the former means "the blood-red bullocks and the latter the blood-red cattle."

It is further difficult, if not impossible, to know whether to treat some of the divisions as clans or sub-clans.

The two words used by the Masai are *Ol pilote* (the clan) and *Enkishomi* (the sub-clan). But these words are not much help to the enquirer, because the Masai use each to some extent interchangeably.

Hollis, p. 290, speaks of a group of Masai called 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa. I have been unable to discover these people. The tribe called Lumbwa, which lives [101] to the west of the Masai area, is quite different in language and customs from the Masai, being similar to the Nandi.

Some clans are associated with certain snakes as under :—

'L Aiser ol Orusumo Orok (the black cobra ?), 'Loglorman ol Aworai Rongai Orok (the thin black snake), Il Darsero ol Aworai Sero (the brown snake), Il Molelian all snakes.

597 *Adoption.*—The Masai like to adopt children, and even grown men, of other clans and other tribes, who may help them to herd their cattle. Of recent years [563] they have also shown a tendency to adopt Kikuyu cultivators to plant maize for [241] them in the more fertile areas Nairagi Enguare and Il Molili, west of the Rift valley. An adopted person is called *O-Ninga*. Having been adopted he is regarded as being a member of the family and clan of his adoption and has nothing to do with his former clan. He may even marry a woman of the sub-clan of his natural father, provided that it is not also the sub-clan of his adoption. But he may not marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of the sub-clan of his adoption. Accordingly, an adopted Kikuyu may call himself a Masai, and even though he may be unable to speak the Masai language he is not telling a lie according to Masai ideas.

When a man or boy is adopted as a herdsman he is treated by the head of the family as one of his own sons. He is given his herd of cattle and is helped to marry a wife. But if or when he elects to leave his adopted family he must go empty handed as he came, leaving behind him such cattle, wives and children as he may have acquired under adoption.

[554] An adopted man takes an inferior position socially to a well-born Masai. He could not in practice hold any important position in the tribe nor be able to marry a well-born Masai woman.

361 428 *Inheritance. Arrangements of Wives' Huts.*—Before dealing with inheritance it is necessary to explain briefly the arrangement of huts in a village in order that the terms "right of the gate" and "left of the gate" may be understood.

latter is of little economic significance, except that it is the duty of the warriors to get cattle by raiding. In the division of work, the people mainly concerned are the uncircumcised boys, the girls, and the women. The boys do most of the herding, assisted by the elders. Women and girls milk and act as servants to the warriors. The girls do household work till they are old enough to become lovers of the warriors, when they do very little work. The greater part of the work thus falls on the elder women, who besides doing or supervising the milking and other ordinary household tasks like fetching water and firewood, build the huts, load and drive the donkeys when moving, prepare skins for clothing, and trade with neighbouring tribes for food and other things. The warriors used to be occupied exclusively either with war or preparations for war, or with dancing, visiting, and making love. Their military activities have today been replaced by certain tasks connected with cattle, and by cattle-stealing and raids on neighbouring tribes. The senior elders are occupied with political matters, and some of them with the instruction and control of the initiates and young warriors; they also help with the herding, and take part in trading with the neighbouring peoples.

The only specialists in the economic sphere are the smiths, *il-kunono*, sing. *al-kunoni*, who live segregated from the rest of the Masai, and marry among their own tribe. They have a distinctly inferior status, and are despised by the Masai, who all their hands before taking anything from a smith. At one time the smiths lived near deposits of iron ore, such as those in the Mataputo river; but nowadays the availability of trade-iron has given them greater freedom of domicile. They make the iron-work used by the Masai, including spears, swords, and ornaments.

Though according to Hollis a few Masai women made pottery, the Masai as a rule buy their pots from the Swahs.

Food

Except among the agricultural Masai, no cereal or vegetable food at all is grown, nor was it eaten in the old days by warriors, whose diet consisted of meat, milk, and blood, the latter providing the necessary salt. The animals eaten included their own cattle, buffalo, *el-oiwuan*, and eland, *e-sirua*, which they considered to be related to cattle, and therefore fit to eat.[1] Warriors were not allowed to eat honey, to drink honey-wine, or to take tobacco, though some took snuff. Children and married people eat vegetable food, and the meat of cattle which die a natural death. Warriors when they want to eat meat, build a rough shelter called *al-pul* in the bush where, accompanied by a boy to do the work, small groups feast upon the meat of an ox supplied by the father of one of their number. The elder who supplies the ox is given some of the meat, and this is one of the regular sources of meat for married people, for meat eating is the regular practice of warriors. Men and women do not eat together, and fish, fowls, eggs, and game other than buffalo and eland are not eaten by any Masai.

Trade

Since the Masai are not self-supporting, they have to trade with the Swahs and others, *il-meek*, whom they despise, in order to get what they want. Their chief suppliers are the Kikuyu, Chaga, and Taveta; and for certain things, notably ivory and honey, the Dorobo. The media of exchange are cattle (old, barren, and otherwise unsatisfactory cows), old and thin goats and sheep, donkeys, butter, and hides. The principal goods bought are food (maize, millet, maize) and tobacco, which they get from the Swahs; the chief suppliers of meat are Indian traders, often Sikhs,

[1] Leakey says that the Masai buy their cereals from the Kikuyu (*JRAI*, LX, p. 308); this may well be the case near the Kikuyu border, though it is perhaps a recent development.
[2] The Galla also consider the buffalo to be the equivalent of the ox. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, chap. XX, Gentil.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Samburu section called Il-Dalgio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as "Nyenge Kolwa" and "Nyenge Nokyo" in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled gateways are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the "free-love" system of the pastoralists, though without the *moryaan*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Okiep to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Nyenge was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Okiep.[2] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Galabu blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[3]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-ayioni*. At circumcision[4] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-murani*, "one who is circumcised," and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-goiker* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-murua*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-goiker* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49-68.
[2] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, "The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 337; von Höhnel, II, pp. 186-88.
[3] The people known as Wa-Kore in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13-15 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 18 or 19.

M /9 cont./
192 in that it was taken as a tribal name, and people spoke of ol oikob-
101 Masai and ol oikob-Wakuafi. El oikob (sing. ol oikobani) means killers, rough, brutal persons, and is an invective with which the Wandorobo, Wakuafi, and the Masai blacksmiths (el konono) designate their oppressors, the Masai. Fischer mistakenly translates the word as "owners of the land"; this, however, would be calleoh ol oyéo l ab gob.

M The Wakuafi live in their colonies as more or less peaceful,
419 sedentary cultivators. Wherever they found peaceful neighbors after
189 their defeats, they too became calm. On the other hand, where
181 they remained in close contact with the Masai and were exposed to their constant raids, the old belligerency remained in them. An example of this is the population of Meruberg /Mt. Meru/ in the Great Arusha /Arusha/ and Meru areas. In spite of a very considerable mixture with Wadschagga from nearby Kilimandscharo, they have completely kept their original character traits. Their imperiousness, rapacity, and cunning equal that of the Masai; in
M courage, on the other hand, they even surpass them. Their numer-
[448] ous attacks on the camps of Europeans and trade caravans reveal them as brigands. The relationship between Wakuafi and Masai
M is in general not bad. The latter regard the former as fellow tribes-
829 men, even though as inferior ones, because they work the soil
619 and own only a little livestock. They are foes one minute and
• [241] friends the next! And both must always reconcile themselves to
[231] each other, for the Masai cannot do without them as suppliers of
[238] vegetable foods, after the rinderpest at the end of the eighties
[231] again raged so destructively among their herds.

D While among the Wakuafi one can still clearly recognize
105 their one-time power and greatness, this is no longer the case at all among the Aaé. Most of them, just like the El oiti, timidly and concealed in the bush of the steppes, live in miserable little grass and leaf huts which can be reached only by hidden paths. Their food consists of game, which they kill with poisoned arrows and poisoned javelins, honey, agricultural products which they obtain in barter, various wild berries, roots, and herbs. Where they dwell in the vicinity of the Masai, they live in a certain

/32 cont./

512 [462] 351 [252] When the livestock have been driven out of the kraal to pasture, the women and children start to clean it. Then the fire is lighted in the huts and on it are placed the pots filled with water in which the vegetables are to be cooked. These pots (e mooli, 'modie) are [415] [439] not made by the Masai themselves, but are bought from sedentary tribes or also from the Wandorobo, who presumably learned the potter's art from them. They are a foot high and globular. In con-262 trast to the warriors, all the occupants of the family kraal, espe- [241] cially since the cattle epidemics, eat vegetable food which they buy from the neighbouring peoples, since they themselves do not 242 engage in any agriculture at all. Their favorite foods, however, 272 are, of course, milk, meat, and blood. Milk is always drunk by [158] healthy people uncooked, as fresh (en gule) or sour (en gule naoto); boiled milk is food for the sick and as such is usually mixed with pulverized grains of ol indoo (Aloeus lanceolata). Sheep milk is especially popular because of its very high fat content. Blood of cattle, sheep, and goats is drunk fresh or eaten in the clotted [158] state. Milk mixed with fresh or /32/ cooked blood (en ŋwdo) is [234] greatly appreciated; this drink is highly esteemed as invalid soup for the wounded. Cheese making is unknown. Butter is made by [252] agitating the cream in a large gourd-bottle (en diagolgol). Fat, [263] rendered in a pot, is used as an ingredient in other foods, especially meat broth, but is also drunk without any admixture. Meat is prepared without adding salt: it is cooked either with various spices or roasted on a stick at the open fire. One does not eat in [252] one day cooked meat and milk /33. 33 appears here/ together [123] [123] [171]

1. This was also forbidden for the Hebrews, according to the 2nd Book of Moses 23, 19-34, 26, passages which are part of the so-called Yahwist documents, that is, the oldest sources of the Pentateuch.

because the latter together with the ol moiyoo spice (bark of

/348 cont./

had been sown with the bleaching skulls of those who had starved and out of the stricken animals. Any of the women and girls who had not died of hunger sought and found refuge among Negroes practicing agriculture, who always like to buy or kidnap female individuals. A mother would sell her child for a handful of maize and would sell herself a day later for a similar price, in order to avoid starvation. Negroes and caravans /349/ took possession of the will-less ones, in order to resell them as slaves. Many have since come back, in part through flight, in part through redemption by their relatives, but more are still found in strange hands. The latter, even though their blood lives on beneficially in the new mixture with Negroes, are permanently lost to the Masai people. So greatly has the misfortune, to which an opposite effect is so often attributed, broken up the former organization, the firm unity, that, soon after the end of the epidemics, the unhappy quarrel between the brothers Lenana-Zendeo about the undivided rule over the Masai could begin. With its continuing civil wars it acts powerfully toward the completion of the destructive work of the epidemics. The Negroes, with whom alone the Masai formerly waged war, except for smaller undertakings among themselves, which bore more the character of provocations than of serious battles, were opponents inferior to them. Now equal parties stand opposite each other, which makes the wars bloodier, more destructive.

Through increasing impoverishment as a result of these epidemics and civil wars, there is now going on among the Masai -- as formerly among the Wakuafi -- a change from nomadism to sedentation. Agriculture is taking the place of animal husbandry. The ones deserting the "people" in this manner are founding settlements, in part self-sufficient, in part supported by Negro tribes, somewhat removed from the dry steppes, there where the watering is adequate for the laying out of plantings. No one expects them to prove to be particularly skillful at this; but Nature, which goes so far to meet her children in the tropics, helps here too. A moderate watering suffices to make the batata shoot stuck in the virgin soil grow and produce tubers. Maize for the most part appears just as easily satisfied as advantageous. These then are the principal useful plants

/349 cont./

178 that are started with as a rule and which one therefore finds in all the
• 241 settlements. Yet despite the ease of production of the field crops,
the transition to agriculture nevertheless is taking place in a way
178 that is reducing the population in extraordinary fashion. First of all,
182 the acclimatization process slowly being accomplished demands a
164 great sacrifice of human lives. The Masai, little afflicted with
165 fever in the dry steppes, suffers with it quite seriously in the moist
regions in which mosquitoes are permanently at home. Thus on two
occasions in the same new settlement I found all the adults and many
children sick with fever. Another one had just been abandoned by
its inhabitants, leaving the sick behind. The ones left behind,
principally men and boys, were badly reduced by fever and, in
addition, suffered to a great extent from virulent leg ulcers, whose
great extent -- in many cases they covered the entire lower leg,
from knee to ankle -- probably is to be traced back to a general
weakening of the body by fever and lack of food: for such ulcers
are not common among nomadic Masai, and, where they occur,
/350/ they remain smaller and show a tendency to heal rapidly.
Other illnesses arise from the unfamiliar diet. The rapid transition
[262] from an almost pure meat diet to an almost pure vegetable diet
makes demands on the stomach and intestines that a body weakened
by fever is seldom equal to. Sickness and death from this cause
are frequent and are increased further by the consumption of bad
water. Thus, more than half the people in one settlement com-
plained of painful diarrhea and bloody stools. All these acclimati-
[842] zation illnesses seem also to manifest their effect in decreased
[163] fertility of the women and increased child mortality. I was repeat-
edly struck by the small number of sucklings (two-year suckling
period) and older children. Thus early in 1902 in Ngaruka, between
Lake Manyara and Lake Natron, among a number of about 50 women,
I found only twelve children, three of them babies. According to
the statements of the parents, very many children had died of various
ailments, especially fever, stomach and intestinal affections, several
178 also had perished in Masai attacks. For the Masai who are becoming
619 sedentary, the ones still living among the "people" as nomads are
721 a scourge that scarcely falls short of the illnesses just mentioned in